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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 311545Z AUG 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0976
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 11234

EXDIS

FROM YOUNG AND MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, US, UK, RH, TZ
SUBJECT: TALKS WITH NYERERE ON RHODESIAN PROBLEMS

1. SUMMARY: OWEN, YOUNG, AND MOOSE, IN ONE HOUR AND FORTY-FIVE MINUTE MEETING AFTERNOON AUGUST 30, EXPLORED LAW AND ORDER QUESTION WITH NYERERE. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES, BUT NYERERE CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT ROLES OF THE SMITH ARMY AND LIBERATION FORCES MUST BE MADE CLEARER BEFORE HE COULD SUPPORT PROPOSALS. IT WAS DECIDED THAT PROPOSALS WOULD BE PUBLISHED AS IS THURSDAY BUT OWEN WOULD ISSUE SEPARATE PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH IT WAS HOPED WOULD SATISFY NYERERE'S NEEDS. END SUMMARY.

2. BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN OPENED DISCUSSION BY STRESSING THAT US AND UK VALUE ROLE OF NYERERE AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MOST OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED. HE WANTED NYERERE TO KNOW WHAT WAS COMING. HE AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD BEEN SAYING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SAME THING EVERYWHERE THEY HAD GONE. OWEN WANTED TO GO IN TO SEE SMITH "STRAIGHT." HE PROPOSED TO SHOW PRESIDENT NYERERE PART OF THE WORDING THAT HE PROPOSED TO USE AND TO FIND OUT HOW MUCH MORE NYERERE THOUGHT HE NEEDED. OWEN EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WAS FULL AGREEMENT ON INTENTIONS, THAT THE US AND UK WERE NOT "BACK-ING OFF," BUT THAT THE ATTENTION OF EVERYONE WAS NOW FOCUSSED ON THE LAW AND ORDER QUESTION IN THE PROPOSALS AND THE MATTER HAD

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TO BE FACED.

3. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EMPHASIZED THAT "FORMULAS ARE ALWAYS TOUCHY," BUT AT THE PRESENT MOMENT PEOPLE WERE DYING AND SOMETHING HAD TO BE TRIED. HE MENTIONED A GOOD MEETING SUNDAY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONH LEADERS IN LUSAKA WHICH HE BELIEVED ENDED WITH AN UNDER-STANDING THAT THEY OR THEIR COMMANDERS WERE WILLING TO MEET THE UK RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE TO TRY TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS OF COMMAND AND TROOP ARRANGEMENTS. THE POINT WAS TO GET INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THE OUTCOME: SMITH'S ARMY COULD NOT BE THE NEW ARMY OF INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

4. TERE WERE, HOWEVER, SOME PROBLEMS, AMBASSADOR YOUNG EMPHASIZED. WE ARE NOW BEING CHARGED WITH TRYING TO RIG THE ELECTION FOR THE PATRIOTIC FORCES. THE USE OF LANGUAGE "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES" COULD BE INTERPRETED THAT THERE CAN'T BE FREE ELECTIONS. THE WORD "DISMANTLING" (OF SMITH'S FORCES) WAS ALSO BEING USED BY VARIOUS PARTIES TO OPPOSE THE PROPOSALS. WE HAD TO MAKE THE CASE BOTH BEFORE THE AVERAGE BLACK AND WHITE RHODESIAN AND BEFORE WORLD OPINION THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE FAIR AND HONEST, THAT IT IS STILL SMITH AND VORSTER AGAINST EVERYBODY ELSE. THE QUESTION IS HOW MUCH FLEXIBILITY DO WE HAVE ON LANGUAGE WHILE ENSURING NO DEVIATION FROM PRINCIPLE.

5. OWEN EMPHASIZED HIS DESIRE TO HEAD OFF AN INTERNAL SETTLE-MENT. YOUNG ADDED THAT SOME KIND OF PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ARE PREPARED TO ABIDE BY THE RESULTS OF FREE ELECTIONS WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL.

6. HAVING LOOKED AT SECRETARY OWEN'S PAPER, NYERERE SAID, "MY PROBLEM REMAINS." HE AGREED THAT ATTENTION HAD NOW BECOME FOCUSSED ON THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM, SAYING THE FUTURE OF SMITH'S ARMY AND THE LIBERATION FORCES WERE SIMPLE HISTORICAL FACTS. SMITH'S ARMY COULD NOT BE THE ARMY OF INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. A NEW ARMY HAD TO BE CREATED. WHILE ELEMENTS OF SMITH'F ARMY MIGHT BE INCORPORATED INTO IT, THIS NEW ARMY HAD TO BE BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES. HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE FRONT LINE WERE ASKING THAT THE SENSE OF THE AGREEMENT WE HAD ON THESE POINTS BE PART OF THE PROPOSALS WHEN THEY ARE MADE PUBLIC. IF THEY WERE, THEY COULD BACK THE PROPOSALS. IF THEY WERE NOT, NYERERE SAID, CONSIDER THE PROBLEM WE WOULD HAVE. IT WOULD APPEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE BRITISH AND THE US HAVE HAD SECOND THOUGHTS. WE COULD NOT GO TO THE UN TO JOIN YOU IN MOBILIZING WORLD SUPPORT. WE CAN GO TO THE UN ONLY ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS MADE PUBLIC.

7. AMBASSADOR YOUNG POINTED OUT THAT WE ALL AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF FREE ELECTIONS. WHOEVER WON THE ELECTION WAS GOING TO WANT TO PICK THE ARMY CLOSEST TO HIM. THE PHRASE

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"PATRIOTIC FRONT" MEANT ONE THING TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, ANOTHER TO BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THE REVEREND SITHOLE. THE LATTER WOULD PROBABLY DRAW THEIR ARMY FROM THE SAME LIBERATION FORCES BUT THEY HAD TO FEEL THAT THEY COULD MAKE SOME DECISIONS IF THEY WON THE ELECTIONS. NYERERE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO ACCEPT THE TERM "LIBERATION ARMY" OR "LIBERATION FORCES" IN LIEU OF "PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES." HE WANTED A UNITED ARMY. MUZOREWA HAD TRIED TO GET HIM TO TRAIN A THIRD ARMY FOR HIM. MUGABE HAD TRIED TO GET HIM TO FAVOR HIS ZANU FORCES. WHEN NYERERE REFUSED, MUGABE WENT TO PEKING. NYERERE WARNED BOTH THE RUSSIANS AND THE CHINESE TO STAY CLEAR OF TRAINING ARMIES FOR ANY SPECIFIC LEADER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NAIROBI 11234

EXDIS

FROM YOUNG AND MOOSE

8. MOOSE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE WANTED TO MAKE SURE SMITH'S REPRESSIVE APPARATUS IS FINISHED AND THAT THE NEW ARMY IS COMPOSED OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE FOUGHT THE WAR OF LIBERATION. HE WONDERED IF THE SPECIFIC FORCES NOW BEING TRAINED IN TANZANIA WERE SEEN AS THAT PARTICULAR ARMY. NYERERE AVOIDED A DIRECT YES OR NO ANSWER. HE SAID THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAD STARTED TRAINING SMALL ZAPU AND ZANU FORCES BUT AFTER THE FROMATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THEY ARE RECRUITING AND TRAINING ONLY IN THE NAME OF THE ZIMBABWE ARMY. THE BULK OF OF THE PRESENT FORCES DO NOT OWE POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE TO ANY PARTICULAR PARTY. HE DID NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT

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THESE FORCES WERE MONOLITHIC BUT HE HOPED THOSE NOW IN TANZANIA WERE RELATIVELY UNITED. AS FAR AS THEIR FUTURE IS CONCERNED, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE A LIST TO THE UK RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF THE FORCES IN THE FRONT LINE COUNTRIES AND TO DISCUSS JUST WHERE AND HOW THEY MIGHT BE USED IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

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9. NYERERE RETURNED TO HIS QUESTION "HOW DO I SUPPORT THE PROPOSALS WHICH YOU ARE GOING TO ANNOUNCE TWO DAYS FROM NOW?" DR. OWEN SAID HE HAD A PROBLEM TOO. HE COULD TAKE THE PROPOSALS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ONLY IF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER CAN GO ON TO SAY THAT THEY WOULD RESULT IN A FAIR AND FREE ELECTION IN ZIMBABWE. THE ACTUAL FORCE DETAILS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE PUT TOGETHER AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT AND BEFORE GOING TO THE UN. THE AIM WAS TO GET LANGUAGE WHICH EVERYONE COULD ACCEPT IN ORDER TO GET INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS DURING WHICH THE PRINCIPLES COULD BE IMPLEMENTED.

10. NYERERE SAID HE COULD CONCEIVE OF ONLY TWO FORCES BEING INVOLVED IN THE ELECTIONS PROCESS. FIRST, THE POLICE FORCE, WHICH WAS STILL SMITH'S, BUT WHICH THE UK RESIDENT COMMISSIONER COULD MAKE PLAY FAIR. SECOND, THE UN.

11. AMBASSADOR YOUNG POINTED OUT THAT THE SMITH FORCES WERE PROBABLY GOING TO DISMANTLE THEMSELVES ANYWAY. THE SELOUS SCOUTS AND THE MERCENARIES WOULD DISAPPEAR. THE TERRITORIALS WOULD GO BACK TO THEIR FARMS. THOSE MEMBERS OF THE REGULAR ONE WHITE AND TWO BLACK BATTALIONS WHO WERE GUILTY OF CRIMES AGAINST THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE WERE GOING TO MAKE THEMSELVES SCARCE. THE AIR FORCE WAS NOT OF GREAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. NYERERE AGREED WITH THE LAST AND SAID HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF A COUP ORGANIZED BY AN AIR FORCE.

12. NYERERE CAME BACK TO THE QUESTION, "HOW DO WE GET TO NEGO-TIATIONS?" FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN ASKED HIM FOR HIS MINIMUM WORDING. NYERERE RETURNED TO THE PHRASE "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES." OWEN ASKED HIM, WHAT ABOUT "THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL CREATE A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY WHICH WILL SERVE THE NEW ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. THIS WILL SUPERCEDE THE EXISTING REGIME AND WILL ABSORB THE LIBERATION FORCES." NYERERE DID NOT LIKE
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THIS EITHER. AMBASSADOR YOUNG MENTIONED THAT HE IMAGINED THAT ALL OF THE ELEMENTS IN RHODESIA WERE NOW LOOKING VERY MUCH TO THEIR FUTURE. PROBABLY ALL OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALIST FORCES

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WERE SEEING WHAT THEY COULD GET OUT OF SMITH. MANY OF THE OFFICERS OF THE EXISTING RHODESIAN FORCE WERE AMONG THE MOST LIBERAL WHITE ELEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY.

13. DR. OWEN SUMMED UP BY SAYING HE BELIEVED THAT THE MEETING HAD BEEN USEFUL AND HE THOUGHT HAD HELPED CLOSE A GAP. HE PROPOSED TO (A) PUBLISH THE WHITE PAPER AS IT IS, (B) MAKE A SEPARATE PUBLIC STATEMENT TO TRY TO MEET PRESIDENT NYERERE'S NEEDS, WHICH DR. OWEN THOUGHT WOULD TAKE HIM "VERY CLOSE TO THE EDGE" AND THEN (C) MOVE TO GET A RESOLUTION THROUGH THE UN. THE MORE THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE COULD SAY ON THURSDAY TO SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, THE BETTER.

14. NYERERE SAID HE HOPED THAT OWEN'S STATEMENT WOULD HELP HIM TO SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR OUTCOME. IF IT DID NOT WE WOULD ALL HAVE TO GO BACK AND LOOK AT THINGS AGAIN, BUT NOT ALL THE WAY TO SQUARE ONE BECAUSE WE DO SEEM TO HAVE A LOT OF AGREEMENT. HE ADDED THAT NORMALLY THE "LIBERATED" HATED THE FELLOWS WHO HELPED LIBERATE THEM ANYWAY. TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE WERE THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS HE KNEW OF. HE HOPED THAT DR. OWEN COULD USE THE PHRASE "LIBERATION ARMY" OR "LIBERATION FORCES" IN HIS STATEMENT. HE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO CALL IN THE UK HIGH COMMISSIONER AND THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN DAR ES SALAAM AT THE END OF THE WEEK AND OPEN SOME CHAMPAGNE FOR THEM.

15. AFTER OWEN AND YOUNG HAD LEFT THE ROOM NYERERE CALLED MOOSE ASIDE. TAKING HIM BY THE SHOULDER HE SAID, "WATCH THAT LANGUAGE. THOSE FELLOWS(APPARENTLY MEANING THE BRITISH) WILL TRY TO CHANGE IT." MOOSE ASSURED NYERERE THAT OUR POSITION WAS AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAD DESCRIBED IT TO HIM AND THAT THE BRITISH WERE WITH US.
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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PDEV, US, UK, RH, TZ, (NYERERE, JULIUS K), (YOUNG, ANDREW J), (OWEN, DAVID)
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